175

a suburb of Naha, thence to Shuri. They turned north, passed the ancient fortress of Nakagusuku, went over to the east coast, proceeding to the vicinity of Kanna. In Matsuda, which the exploring party apparently did not reach, there is still a story about Perry's expedition. It concerns a carving on stone placed on the top of a dramatically shaped rock on the seashore. According to local residents, this carving remained in place until it was shot off by an American soldier during the war.

Roughly around Kanna, the party crossed the island to the South China Sea or western side, and reached the village of Un-na (modern Onna), an engraving of which appears in the narrative and also in Bayard Taylor's India, China, and Japan. The return trip was down the coast, and the road led through Nachinato back to Naha. Coastal explorations were extensive. A new chart was an immense improvement over Hall's. Special attention was given to the Unten (Port Melville) and Shah Bay (Miyagishima and the area south of Ogimi).

Bayard Taylor, the famous traveller who had joined the expedition and wrote parts of the narrative, spoke of the interior of Okinawa in 1853 as a "terra incognita," and he was not exaggerating as far as Western knowledge was concerned.[22] This probably applied to the Japanese as well, for their stations were in Naha and an administrator or scholar of the Tokugawa era probably found little in agriculture, plant life, land tenure, and local history and ethnography to interest him.[23]

Upland agriculture, the hoeing of sweet potatoes, the planting and transplanting of rice, the manufacture of sugar were described much as they can be observed to this day in parts of Okinawa. They noted a sameness and a lack of variety in plant life, the planting of pines along the highways, the fences used as protection against the wild boar. The communal land system was remarked upon, the writers thinking it a "metayer system," that is a form of share-cropping in which the proprietor of the land and the cultivator receive equal, or agreed upon proportions. They described houses built on small stilts, the compounds, and the village granaries. They strolled through villages, poked their heads into huts, and wrote about the utensils in the kitchens. They theorized about the possible origins of the people and their connections with other races, discovered lingams which were interpreted as the ruins of "ancient Hindoo idolatry." They spoke of the glossy upswept hair and the hair pins according to rank.

[24] [37] [42] [342] [302]

The village granaries are gone; so has the land system and the costumes, and the long swept up hair of both sexes. Agricultural techniques and the care of the land have remained.

[198]

[Text Continues Top of P. 38 -- Analyst]

22 See Bayard Taylor's A visit to India, China, and Japan, in the year 1853. Chapters 30, 33, 36.

23 In the early 17th century the Japanese explored the island, took a census, and reorganized political administration. CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands, 40.

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1

Introduction

361

In contemporary Okinawa, there are four distinct types of village settlement. The first and the most common is the village cluster. Houses are grouped in a central area, usually along or on both sides of a road, surrounded by farm lands and rice fields. The second, the shoe-string type, is less common. Here houses are lined along either side of a main street. The third is a here-and-there type of settlement. This has been called a yadori (Japanese) or yadui (Okinawan) village, translated as plantation, but this is too exalted a word.[1] These villages may have sub-settlements. Houses are scattered among intervening plots of cultivated land. In the fourth category are the modern improvisations: land formerly in forest, grass or shrub which has been reclaimed and used for houses and nearby cultivation, or former agricultural land now taken up for house sites, a result of increased population or of war time destruction of other parts of a village. [311]

The basic type of Okinawan village is the cluster, a village small in area whose houses, close together, and on irregular winding lanes, are separated from one another by stone or rock walls, or by boundaries of trees or shrubs. The front part of the house compound usually is cut off from the road by a stone fence, running part way across, with the opening to the road obstructed by a stationary barrier, sometimes of stones, often of woven grasses. [351] [363]

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In the village of a bygone age, there were large open spaces like a common on the outskirts "often appearing as glades in the forest." In this area, rice was laid out to dry, horse racing and other sports took place, the village council met, goods were bartered, justice administered, and festivals celebrated.[2] When approached from a distance, the older villages seemed literally buried in foliage. In the last century the larger villages still had rest huts (cung-qua) for travellers, usually government officials to use from one overnight stop to another. The older village also had a series of small buildings on stilts three to six feet long. These were granaries and food storehouses. Some houses were also on stilts. Older accounts have stressed the concealment of the Okinawan village, its houses separated from one another, its lanes lined or embowered with bamboo, with banana trees, or with arbors. To [526] [35] [485] [343] [342]

[TEXT continues top of P. 48--Analyst]

1 Higa, Shunchō. Structure of the Ryukyuan rural community. The Japanese journal of ethnology, 15 (1950), 63-66. In Japanese with English summary, 151.

2 The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 457. See also Basil Hall, Account of a voyage of discovery to the west coast of Corea and the Great Loo-Choo island, 123, 124.

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891
342

The main road through Hanashiro. This is an unposed picture. The children happened to be playing along the road. Scars can barely be seen on the close clipped heads of the young boys. The poor non-descript clothing is typical. There is a high rock hinpun or stationary gate at the entrance to the compound. The tile roof here is out of the ordinary. The gajimaru tree, used for typhoon protection, is on the left. This is also Highway 64.

[P. 51 (A)]

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351

Treeless Minatogawa. This is the business district of the village. The buildings are small village shops. The building in the upper left is the village inn. The road winding toward the right is Highway 64 leading to Gushichan. Minatogawa stone is visible on the back of the store on the right of the picture. The low stone hedges in the foreground are typical of Minatogawa.

[P. 51(B)]

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342
137

In the center of Matsuda. Large trees growing in the settlement. Small garden plots are near the houses and sheds. These houses have thatched roofs except the tile roof in the left center of the picture. A freshly hoed plot is in the foreground.

[p. 56]

traditional attitudes that the north was a culturally rude and physically inhospitable place. The highway which now goes through the center of the main part of the village is a good, hard surfaced, dirt road, widened since the war. A lively traffic of trucks and buses and the three wheeled cycles contrasts with the narrow pre-war roads, traces and abandoned sections of which can still be seen. The frequent buses supply transportation to the larger cities and towns of the island: to Nago across the island and slightly to the north, to Ishikawa on the south, and to distant Naha, about 31 miles away.

Matsuda, unlike the southern villages, was not destroyed by the war. There were some air raids, some bombing out of the houses, but nothing like the destruction in the main areas of conflict. Early in the Okinawa campaign, the north was cut off and isolated and the struggle for the island took place in central and southern Okinawa. As a consequence, many of the old houses, sturdily built with tile roofs, have been preserved. Numerous refugees from the south gathered in this area during and after the campaign. In nearby Ginoza (Jinuza) village, slightly over a mile to the southwest, also on Highway 13, the Americans operated a hospital for Okinawan refugees. It is still in use. This relative lack of war destruction in the northern villages has, to a degree, reversed the roles of the north and the south. The opening up of the north, its prosperity, the survival of many of its old homes, give the impression of comfort and well being conspicuously lacking in most of the makeshift villages of the south.

The descriptions of these three villages perhaps make clear the diversity that can be expected among Okinawan settlements. Hanashiro, the small village cluster, with adjoining rice fields on the valley floor, its other crops on the terraced slopes, is the most typical. Minatogawa, the fishing village in an impoverished countryside of stony or shallow soil, is dependent on the seas and its catch for its livelihood and the wherewithal to buy the foods which cannot be grown in sufficient abundance. Matsuda, a collection of small settlements, scattered here and there from the coast inland, with its large preserve of community forest, is an example of agriculture in a forest setting, and of the use of the forest in daily living. This by no means exhausts the diversity. The village of Oku to the north, with its tea, its rice, its fences for wild boar protection, its cycads planted on the hillsides to prevent erosion, is still another example. But our task here is not to catalogue all diversity, but to indicate that it exists and to a much greater degree than would appear to superficial observation.

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1

Historical Notes on Housing

In all villages, much time is spent, in addition to agricultural or fishing tasks, in housebuilding, either for one's self or for friends and neighbors. Housebuilding is the most time consuming of a man's tasks after his primary occupation. Repairs to or reconstruction of the poorer houses are continuous. The man with a good house and a tile roof has little to worry about. But he will often be found helping someone less fortunate.

The traditional houses of Naha and Shuri showed both Chinese and Japanese influences. The traditional house and compound of the rural village has been compared with the ancient Japanese house, and it bears some similarities with houses found among the Ainu.

It would seem from the observations and researches of earlier students that the house was always built above the ground without excavation, and sometimes on stilts. The supporting posts making up the rectangular house were either placed in holes or on stones on the ground. The supporting posts, the ridge poles, the cross beams were branches or trunks of trees trimmed and cut for length. Roofs of thatch had the apex of the roof covered by a saddle or arch shaped thatch made, like the rest of the roof, of grass. Smoke escaped either through an aperture in the ceiling or through a window, as it still does in many of the poorer houses. The houses were filled with smoke. The oldest rural houses apparently had only a dirt floor with scattered mats, though some had a raised floor.

The food storage sheds or small granaries were raised on stilts. Engravings of these have appeared both in Perry's writings and in Bayard Taylor's works. There is some question whether this granary (now disappeared) was indigenous or a borrowing. The purpose of the raised granary was probably to protect against dampness and to prevent infestation by rats and vermin. These granaries were open sided with no boarded up walls, and, in Okinawa, were circular.[1]

Animal pens or stalls were not attached to the house, but were always separate. In the courtyard, earthen rain water vessels were inbedded half way into the ground to catch the rain water. There were stalls for goats and pig pens, and the pig pens were used also as a toilet. This is no longer practiced to my knowledge, although the outhouse with its holes in the ground is found under the same roof as the pig pen. The entrance to the courtyard was opposite the front of the house. The protective stationary gate, the hinpun (in Okinawan), made of reeds or stones, stood at the entrance inside the court, as it does now, to shield the people of

1 For drawings of the granaries, see Satow, E. M. Notes on Loochoo. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1 (1882), 1-8. The drawings follow the text. See also Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, as cited, 75-85.

417 the house from the glances of the curious. It has been suggested that
[177] the stationary gate at the entrance of the courtyard is of Chinese
[764] origin, that its purpose originally was to scare away spirits, and that its former presence in the tomb compound indicates that it was introduced along with the turtleback or horseshoe tomb from Fukien province in China.[2]

175 Captain Hall described Okinawan house exteriors and the surrounding
351 buildings, including those of the common people. The house was "buried
340 in foliage" and hidden from view. It was surrounded by a light fence of rods, about one foot apart with creepers on top. These rods were probably stalks of miscanthus grass, or of the dwarf bamboo. The site had a wicker gate, possibly meaning the hinpun made out of the dried grass stalks. One house which he described was divided into two compartments, eight feet square, with a small veranda at one end. The floors, made of bamboo, and about six feet above the ground, were covered with a straw mat. The walls, about five feet high, were wattled with split bamboo, and the house had a pointed thatched roof.

[352] In the interior, there were shelves for bowls and cups, and in a
[354] loft or garret tools, nets, or baskets were stored. These installations now are often found in the kitchen. In the middle of one side of the house there was a fireplace, sunk below the level of the ground.

[343] Outside, in the compound, a pigeon house, poultry yard and spinning
175 wheels were observed. In another passage, Hall describes a cottage of
342 "wattled rattans" with a light open bamboo roof with thatch and creepers, one wing of which was occupied by goats. The compound consisted of a stable, a pig sty, and a poultry house. There was also a mill. The
[325] granary was on posts about six feet above the ground with firewood piled below. There was an anvil with a forge of masonry but no bellows.[3]

The houses of the poor, said Fahs in his report to Commodore Perry, were made of bamboo and had no floors.[4] Accounts around the turn of the century say that houses and granaries were supported by corner posts of considerable height. Schwartz said these posts were about five feet high. The house walls of straw thatch were held in place by bamboo grass matting with a space two feet in width acting both as a door and a window, a matting curtain covering the aperture.[5]

[Text Continues TOP of p. 73--Analyst]

2 Simon, as cited, 80. C. W. Bishop has suggested that the stone houses of the Ainus of Hokkaido point to contact with southern insular peoples. Also, the primitive Japanese hut which was illustrated resembled the one we have been describing for Okinawa. It had a thatched roof and a courtyard which was cut off from the outside view by the hinpun. The historical geography of early Japan. Geo. Review, 13 (1923), 40-63. Note especially Figures 5 and 6. (This article was reprinted in Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1925).

3 Captain Basil Hall, Voyage to Corea and the Great Loo Choo, as cited, 124, 141, 142-43.

4 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. II, 50.

5 Henry B. Schwartz, In Togo's country. New York and Cincinnati, 1908, 148-49.

\2

The Courtyard or Compound

The usual present day Okinawan dwelling is in an inclosed courtyard or compound. This varies in size. The average size of these house sites (yashiki in Japanese) is shown in the following table: 351

	Area in Tsubo a/	Approximate Equivalent in Acres
Hanashiro	184.3	0.15
Minatogawa	70.7	0.06
Matsuda	116.4	0.10

a/ Computed from lists of village house sites in the land registers of each township. The conversion figure of 1210 tsubo (about four square yards) to the acre has been used.

The traditional house site has definite characteristics, obscured in present day Okinawa because of the war destruction. In the rebuilding, much of the housing and the outlying sheds were of poor quality. They are difficult to classify, except in a general category such as shacks or shanties. [362]

The house site, surrounded by its shrubs, trees, or stone fence and with the hinpun at the entrance, or the open side, forms a private courtyard with the buildings arranged around the three sides. There are a large number of possible combinations. A compound in which the house is located across the back part of the site, its front facing the hinpun and the road or lane is typical. On either side, there might be a combined outside toilet and pig or goat pen, or separate buildings for the toilet and the pigs or goats, a food storehouse, and a tool shed. The auxiliary buildings are small, and more correctly should be described as sheds. The outside toilet, with a dirt, stone block, or cement floor, is usually small with one or two holes in the floor. It is used in a squatting position. [343]

All kinds of variations from this description can be observed at will. In the fishing village of Minatogawa, the compound is open. Little hedges a foot or so high or small rock borders take the place of the dense shrubs and trees of another site. Lines are stretched out in the yard. Nets are hanging, and fish are drying on the mats in the courtyard. Sometimes, more out of convention than practical utility, there is a hinpun in front of a house that has no other construction to seal it off from view. And these hinpun might even be made of stray boards or of corrugated iron.

It is not unusual in a compound, in cases in which the house is small, for a young man of the house to have a small separate building. Here he has his blankets, personal articles, pictures clipped from 592 342

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

592 342 magazines and pasted on the wall, and here he entertains visitors who come for conversation or study.

3

Types of Houses

342 In all the villages studied, the houses may be divided into three general categories: (1) the Japanese style house with the thatch or tile roof, (2) the smaller stone house with the Japanese type floor plan, and (3) various shacks resembling in some details the simple structure of the old Okinawan rural house.

[313] [439] [335] The sturdy Japanese type house is made of excellent hardwoods imported from Japan or brought from the forests of northern Okinawa. This house was often constructed without nails. It was put together by mortise and tenon joints, and also with a piece of wood, square on the edge and about three inches long which functions like a dowel. This is known as a kusabi. In modern houses, both of the simple and more complex types, nails are more commonly used.

[355] [911] [352] The eaves of this house are supported by strong poles, unfinished, usually from the Japanese redwood (sugi in Japanese, Cryptomeria japonica, D. Don) or the ihumaki (Podocarpus macrophyllus D. Don). The poles are placed on flat triangular stones for foundation support. The houses have plank floors. Both the tile and the thatch roof types (to be described later) have the same floor plan with the size of the rooms determined by the number of mats (tatami in Japanese) desired.

The half tile, half thatch roof is not uncommon, an indication either of a roof partially destroyed by the war which has been repaired by thatch, or a thatched roof gradually being replaced by tile. This is a slow process, as tile is costly. Basically, all of these houses have the same general plan, except for differences in roof materials.

[355] [415] [312] The older Japanese type houses with a tile roof and the newer ones being built on that model are provided with a drain pipe for rain water catchment. This pipe, running along the length and the width of the roof channels the water into a large tank on the ground, reducing the labor involved in carrying water from village ponds or central springs. Many of these rain water catchments disappeared when the old houses were destroyed in the war. Drain pipes cannot be attached to the thatch. In general, rain water is not now a plentiful source of supply in the villages, though buckets and tubs are frequently put out during a heavy downpour, and this water is used for drinking and cooking until it begins to spoil. It may supplement the water carried from a central village faucet, the well, or a pond.

The construction of the Japanese type house is complex. Basically, the design of the house is derived from the arrangement of three rooms,

342

A house in Hanashiro. This was partly destroyed during the war. The left side of the house is a post-war improvisation. The owner of this house is replacing the kaya, or grass thatch, with tile as he is able to afford it. The cap of the roof is one of the many variant styles. The opening to the left of the picture leads to the kitchen.

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plus a sort of veranda, or inside hallway, an inner small porch parallaling it, and an outer porch—but in some cases there is only a stepping stone. The outer walls are usually of Japanese redwood. The houses are unpainted.

A narrow porch runs around the front and the side of the house opposite the kitchen. Between the porch and the room proper, there is a space for a paper sliding door (shōji in Japanese) and a connecting corridor (or veranda) known as an en (in Japanese). This corridor is about 35 sun, or almost a yard wide. The sliding doors covered with paper, so familiar in the houses of Japan, have all disappeared, though provision is made for them in the construction. Before the war, some houses had them; in others they were never installed. The rooms, therefore, are usually open, joined in front by the corridor. Partitions may cut off the whole room or be built up to face level. The outer porch (haji in Japanese) is in the courtyard in front or on a line with the poles which support the eaves. It may be off the ground about a foot; sometimes a cemented area or a stone walk two or three feet wide and on the ground acts as a substitute for this porch.

The pre-war house, of which a few remain in the southern villages, more in the north, normally has three rooms and a kitchen, with a back part for storage. The size of the house is determined by the number of mats which each room will have, and this Japanese convention produces uniformity and regularity in house construction. Actually only a small minority of houses have these mats. They were more common before the war. The pre-war ones have largely been destroyed or worn out, but during winter months or occasionally at parties or celebrations those remaining are taken out and used. A more modest mat, called a mushiro (in Japanese), made in Okinawa, often in the home or in the village, has taken the place of the tatami. It has the same function as a throw rug, but is rolled up when not in use. [352]

The names of the rooms also follow Japanese custom. The first room (ichibanza in Japanese) is the best. It contains the alcove, or recessed part, suitable for hanging a scroll (kakemono in Japanese), or for ornamental and religious objects. This is the room for guests; at parties or celebrations the men gather here, the women meeting in the second room. 342 353

The second room (nibanza in Japanese) has the Buddhist god shelf, universal in all houses except the very poor or makeshift ones. This shelf has the memorial tablets (ihai in Japanese) of the dead of the family. At parties and celebrations, the second room is the gathering place of the women. [769]

The third room (sanbanza) which adjoins the kitchen is a dining room. It has a small, low table for meals, perhaps a wall shelf. All of these rooms are also sleeping rooms (nema in Japanese). [352]

[Text Continues Top of P. 78--analyst]

DIAGRAM OF A HOUSE COMPOUND

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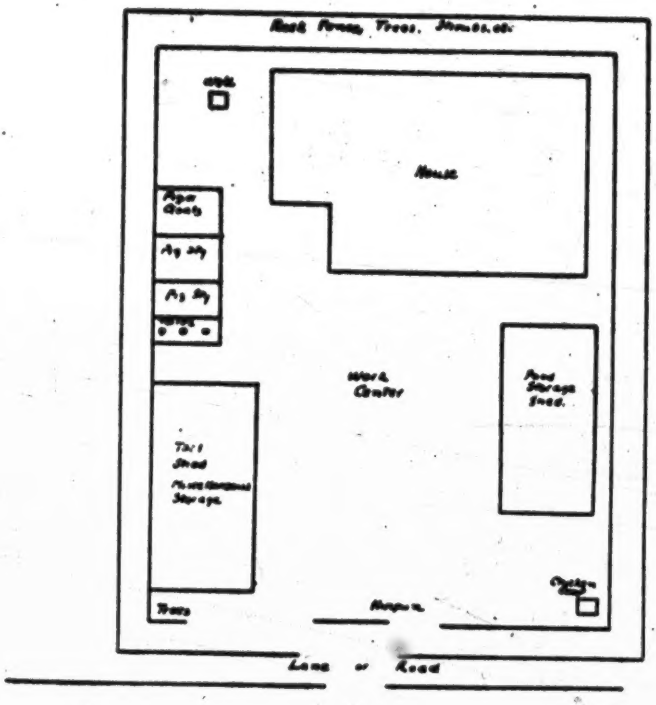
343



These rooms, opening on the front of the house along the corridor, do not run the full length of the house. A fourth, a back room, running across the back part may open on to the kitchen. Sometimes this room is only roughly finished and used for storage or sleeping purposes or both. A grandmother often takes the grandchildren (other than the infant) to bed with her in this room.

The kitchen is set off from the rest of the house by being on a lower level, perhaps one step. The kitchen usually has a hard dirt floor. Occasionally it is cemented. Sometimes it has a chimney, sometimes a hole in the side of the wall, which the curious smoke rejects in favor of a leisurely diffusion throughout the other rooms of the house. The kitchen is not part of the house in the sense that the other rooms are. The shoes are not removed when entering it. The kitchen opens out on to a stone or dirt path. Women frequently still eat in the kitchen because of its convenience and the need of going in and out to get water, or to wash vegetables, or to get food from the shed during the preparation of a meal.

The stove is basically an open hearth with a hole at the top for the cooking pan. There is also a hole directly below this into which the fuel can be placed. More elaborate stoves may have three tiers: one for the cooking, one for putting the fuel in, the lower for the ashes. The most simple, in the very poorest houses, are little more than a circular group of stones laid on the ground built up so that a pan can be placed on top. The most elaborate, made of stone, might run across the width of the kitchen and have several openings. Fuel, such as odd branches, sticks of firewood brought from the northern (Kunigami) region, crushed and dried sugar cane, or miscanthus grass of varying length is put part way into the fire and pushed further in as the ends are burned off.

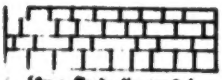
The all stone house is smaller than the wooden house. It invariably has a tile roof, for those able to afford the stone can also buy the tile. The stone blocks used in house construction are usually about nine feet by one foot on the edge.[6] The stones used as posts are buried two feet in the ground leaving seven feet for the upright. These blocks, called ishibashida when used for house construction, have the same width and breadth; they can be cut to any desired length to even off the sides. The stones are layed like bricks with mortar to form the walls of the house. The all stone house is not common, and is usually seen in the south, where the stone is quarried, in Minatogawa, and in adjacent villages. These houses are more modern, and often bathing facilities are built in. The stone house has the advantage of being cool in summer, warm in winter.

Finally, there are the simple structures, resembling shacks or shanties more than houses. These are, as one would expect, more frequent in the areas of the war's operations. There are three main varieties, though the combinations are numerous: (1) the all grass house, now uncommon. The sides of this wattled house are usually of

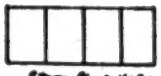
6 Actually they are 9 x 1 x 1 shaku. A shaku is 0.994 feet.

TYPES OF RINPUN

417



Stone Block - Horizontal
(4'x 9', Thickness about 9")



Stone Block - Vertical
(4'x 9', Thickness about 9")

Thc Lattice (Plasterfloor)
Lattice 3'x 5'6"

Diagonal (Wood, made of green Yambaru Bamboo
Typical size 6'x6'

ARRANGEMENT OF THE ROOMS

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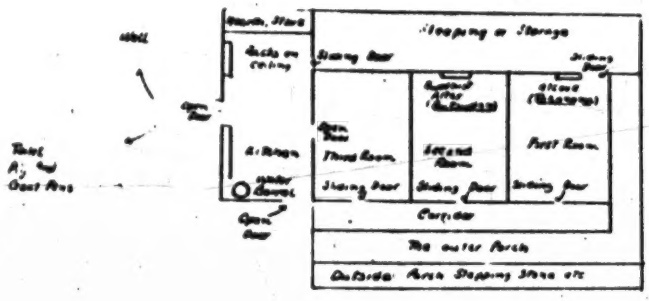
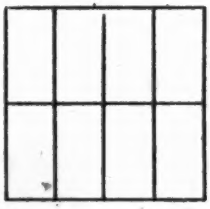
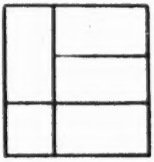


8 Mat Room



Size of mats
3' x 6'

4 1/2 Mat Room [352]



an interwoven diagonal weave of miscanthus whose hollow stalks at maturity are strong but brittle, resembling in appearance a very small piece of bamboo. (2) The house with a simple thatch roof with walls of various sized rocks or small pebbles cemented together with mud taken from the yard, and (3) a thatch roof house whose frame is built with small rough hewn poles, over which a thin cheap pine siding is nailed. The construction of this house will be described in some detail below because, with the exception of the modern pine siding to replace the straw or diagonal weave, it is, according to the Okinawans, the oldest type of native rural house.

The house must have heat during the winter. The kitchen hearth is not used for this purpose. The kitchen fires are allowed to die down and are only started at meal times. It would be too expensive or wasteful of gathered fuel to do otherwise. Room heat is provided by a brazier (hibachi in Japanese). This may be a large square box with an inset lined with metal in which ashes and charcoal are placed. Some winter cooking may be done here. The hibachi may also be a large earthenware pot in which coals of charcoal are placed.

In some old homes, another device suitable both for heating and cooking, can still be seen. This was observed in Matsuda, but not in the southern villages. This is also a sort of hearth (jiru in Japanese). The jiru consists of a hanging bamboo pole one end of which is secured by a rope tied to a lattice in the ceiling. On the other end of the pole, about three feet long, there is an iron hook with another device, like an arm bent at the elbow, allowing the height of the hook above the fire to be adjusted. The handle of the pot is placed on this hook and the pot hangs at any desired distance over a bed of coals and ashes. This hearth is not in the kitchen, but at one corner of the dining room, usually where the two open rooms adjoin. The jiru is rare in the villages at the present time. It is from this device that the former practice of a mother and a new born infant "roasting" themselves takes its name; both the mother and the new born child were exposed, in a closed room, to heat from the jiru or from a brazier, even in the intensest heat of summer.[7]

4

Building a Simple House

The following description is based on observations made of the construction of a simple house in Hinatogawa. The steps are given in some detail because it was said that this house was being constructed in the manner of the traditional rural Okinawan house.

Rough hewn poles were used. The traditional method of putting on

7 This will be discussed in Chapter 13 on family life in the section on the rearing of children.

BUILDING A SIMPLE HOUSE

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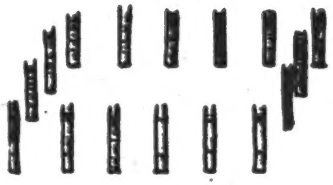

Fig. 1

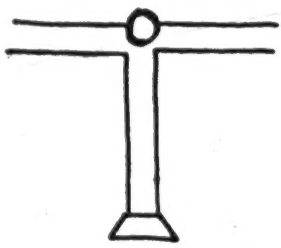

Fig. 2

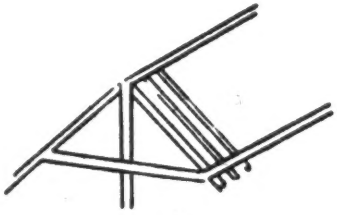

Fig. 3

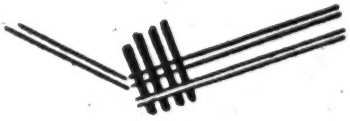

Fig. 4

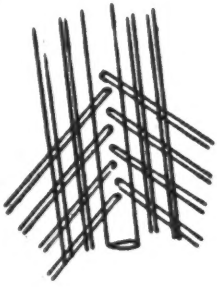

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

the thatch is old and the pine siding obviously has replaced the diagonal wattle, but in other essentials it is a simple peasant hut built in rural Okinawa for generations. 342

(1) The upright supporting poles for the frame of the rectangular house are set on flat stones. In Minatogawa, where they are quarried, they are especially cut for this purpose. The uprights are set about six feet long, and 3 1/2 inches in diameter. The poles are set so that there are four on the sides, six in front and rear, the end poles serving a dual purpose. (Fig. 1) 342 335

(2) On the front and back, cross poles, or tie beams to support the roof are nailed on to the cut end of the upright. The poles on the sides are fastened by making a simple groove the diameter of the pole. (Fig. 2)

(3) With the frame completed, the box like structure is ready for the ridge pole and its supports. These uprights are longer, perhaps 9 or 10 feet, and provide the slant of the simple gabled roof. They are also set on stones, but inside the area inclosed by the upright supporting poles. The ridgepole is now nailed to the ends of the center posts.

(4) The problem now is to provide a frame on the slanting roof for rods of miscanthus which in turn support the thatch. For this purpose, smaller poles, like rafters, run from the peak of the roof to project over the eaves. (Fig. 3)

(5) These rafter poles, set about one foot apart, jut out over the eaves on the front and back of the house about 1 1/2 feet. The ends of these small rafter poles are joined together with a longer horizontal pole. This horizontal pole is nailed on top of the ends. (Fig. 4) These poles may not be long enough for a whole side. They are rough, often crooked. If they are not long enough, the ends of two poles may be lashed together with rope.

(6) These rafter poles are not fitted or grooved into the ridge pole. Neither are the ends mitred. Instead the poles' ends alternate with one another. (Fig. 5)

(7) Horizontal poles are then laid across the rafter poles and nailed down. These brace the structure and divide the roof into a series of rectangles.

(8) The frame of the house is now completed and it is ready for the roofing and the siding. To help in nailing the rafter poles, women prepare a braid of rice straw or miscanthus and nails are inserted into the loops of the braids. The braid is handed up to the workman who puts it between his teeth, providing a continuing source of nails, as he tacks down the poles of the roof. Old men and old women prepare the nail braid. [283] [887]

342 [462] [476] [824] (9) While the stones are being set and the uprights are being put on them, the women of the house and their female friends and relatives have brought in miscanthus grass and have begun making sheaves, tying each sheaf with a piece of grass. This goes on while the rafter poles are being nailed down. It is over this that the thatch is placed. The grass may be green or dry. In December it is in blossom, and when it is used, it gives the roof a snowy, fluffy appearance.

342 335 (10) A series of short rods of dwarf bamboo or dried miscanthus stalks is then prepared to fit over the checkerboard made by the interacting poles of the roof. The ends of these, which are about 7 feet long and 1/2 inch in diameter, are inserted into the braid of two lengths of rope about 5 feet long. These rods are placed at about 3 inch intervals. These frames are laid end down slope. They [284] are lashed to the poles and to other bracing material beneath. All this is the work of men. While some of them are on the roof, others [462] have begun nailing the siding. (See Fig. 6 for a sketch of the frames).

This is a very cheap lumber about 6 feet x 1 inch x 3/8 inch. The sides are boarded up like shingles except that the boards have uniform thickness. Each board overlaps the next lower one by 1/2 inch, a space of about 3 inches is left from the top of the upright poles to which the siding is nailed. The siding is sufficiently thin so that one side need not be thicker than the other.

(11) The triangular odd corners formed by the cross beams, the rafters and the center post are filled by fitted pieces instead of the rows of parallel rods used for the larger and more regular areas.

342 284 [413] (12) The roof is now ready for sewing the thatch on. First, the women throw several sheaves of miscanthus on the roof. They are tossed by hand or pitched by a rude pitchfork made by lashing a short branch to a long pole to form a Y. This is the kishi. (Fig. 7). One workman goes inside the dwelling. He has a pole about 6 feet long (a hari, the Japanese word for needle) pointed at the end with a hole near the point. (Fig. 8). Starting from the eaves and working up, the man on the roof unties the sheaves and spreads a layer of grass along the length of the roof. This layer is held in place by a horisontal pole placed over it. The man inside has threaded the needle with stout twine; he pushes the long needle with the twine up through the network of the roof. This is taken by the workman on the roof who feeds the needle with its twine back again. This sewing continues until the three layers, the checkerboard, the parallel rods which have been lashed to it, and the grass with the poles to hold it down have been finally sewed together. As each strip is completed the workmen move up the slope a little. The grass is about 3 1/2 feet long and about one foot is allowed loose on the end to overlap the layer below. That portion of the grass which is not free is tied and sewed very securely. There is much tugging, pulling, and grunting to make the knot as tight as possible.

000 (13) As the top is reached, another operation is necessary to cap

(13) As the top is reached, another operation is necessary to cap the peak of the roof. The two layers of grass require, when they meet, something to cap over them. This is done by laying down over the peak a rectangular frame of poles to form the base for the cap. The grass is then heaped up on this bed. It is held down by long rods of dwarf bamboo or miscanthus, forming a rough arch and running lengthwise. These rods with the grass underneath are sewn on to the ridge pole and the surrounding network of poles underneath with heavy twine or rope. Often also sharp sticks are placed cross ways. These are known as kansashi and derive their name from the pin used by Japanese women to fasten up their hair when they wear the traditional headdress. These sticks in fact perform this function; perhaps even better, they can be compared to the long hat pin. A thatched roof so constructed will last a long time, often 5 or 10 years, though it may be changed more often if damaged. Very often if the house has a thatch roof and the sides are made of a weak material, the house, including the roof is bound around with a heavy thick wire, cable or rope to protect it from typhoons. (Fig. 9 for a sketch of the roof). 342 335

The interior of the simple house which we have been describing is finished off in a simple manner with flooring and siding, also of cheap quality.

It may be added, parenthetically, that there are two different methods of laying the tile roof. In the hipped type, the tile slants from the roof to the eaves. The variant is the hipped type with a small gable. Occasionally, on the tile roof, an ornamental lion shaped terra cotta figure is placed for decorative purposes. 342 [532]

Tile is set over a foundation of long rods of small bamboo, dwarf bamboo or mature large size miscanthus. Rice straw is used to tie these rods together and to the frame. Mud, usually found in the yard and often containing considerable clay, is placed over this rod base and the tile is set so that the crests of the two pieces of tile which meet on the bottom are cupped by a tile on top. (Fig. 10).

5

Tools

Carpenters' tools are Japanese imports, although local blacksmiths make tools based on the Japanese design or repair them. The common tools are: 413 [439] [326]

(1) The plane (kanna in Japanese). The plane iron is set in a rectangular block of wood. In working wood, the plane is drawn toward the operator.

(2) A smaller plane

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

BUILDING A SIMPLE HOUSE

342

[413]

The kushi, an improvised pitchfork made out of tree branches. The piece, a, is tied to the main branch to make the fork.

Fig. 7

The Hari

Fig. 8

[335]

CAPPING THE ROOF

Fig. 9

TILE SETTING

Fig. 10

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

413

(3) Chisels (nomi in Japanese) of various sizes.

(4) The hand saw (nokogiri in Japanese). There are two kinds: a single edge for cross cut, or a double edge, the second for rippling. The saw has a short blade and a long handle.

(5) A kind of hatchet (te-ono in Japanese).

(6) A rabbet plane (motoichi)

(7) The square (kanejaku)

(8) A gimlet, the large hand operated boring tool with a T shaped handle (ōkii ana in Japanese, bōtō in Okinawan).

(9) The common brace and bit.

(10) The hammer, both claw and ball pein.

(11) The sumi tsubo (in Japanese). This is a reel with a string. As the string is drawn out from the reel, it passes through an India ink paste which is in a shallow flat dish situated at the point where the string comes out. The inked string is made taut along the line to be cut, snapped sharply, resulting in a black line along the desired cutting edge.

(12) The sumisashi (in Japanese), a short stick, dipped in ink, which is used for drawing a cutting line by hand usually with a square or rule to join longer lines made by the inked string.

(13) A plane for use on curved surfaces (the maruka in Japanese.)

(14) A sandshaker. When mortar is needed, an improvised sand-shaker may be constructed. Long poles are set up wigwam fashion. One end of a wire is fastened to the apex of the poles, the other to the end of a wire net. The other end of the wire net is held in the hands. Sand is put on the mesh, and the device is then shaken so that the fine sand goes through. Long poles such as those used for the sandshaker or in building construction are called maruta (in Japanese). [417]

6

Co-operation in Housebuilding

342 476

In Okinawa, co-operation among villagers in larger tasks is not conspicuous.[8] Housebuilding is an exception. Depending on the size, any number of people in a village may participate in building a house. If the house is small, only friends or immediate relatives are likely to assist. But if it is a large house, friends or neighbors may work one or two days, and relatives three or four days.

8 The nature of village co-operation will be discussed in Chap. 18

342 476 463 [464] Co-operation often takes the form of a division of labor. In building an elaborate permanent house with cement foundations, siding, plank flooring and a tile roof, greater skills than the handyman techniques of a smaller house are required. In the building of a house, men with special skills, such as a carpenter, a cement mixer, a stonecutter, or a mason participate; others bring lumber and wood from the mountains, as in Matsuda, or lay the grass on the tile roof. In some cases, all the labor may be donated; in others, the carpenter, the cement mixer, the stonecutter may be hired, with helper's work done by volunteers. In simpler construction, the carpentry may be done by anyone who has this secondary skill but is primarily a farmer or a fisherman. People who have those skills are said to have half and half occupations (hannohangyō in Japanese).

7

Housebuilding Ceremonies

342 In building, a distinction is made between a temporary and a permanent house. A temporary house may be built following a typhoon or a fire, or it may be constructed for a poor man and in fact be a permanent house for the family, the good house to come being more an aspiration than an early reality. The marks of a permanent house are construction with beams, instead of poles, good siding, a good roof, now mostly of tile, a design based on mat size, and a cemented kitchen. Housebuilding ceremonies and celebrations apply only to the permanent house.

[184] 342 780 [262] [273] [415] [825] Ceremonies or observances during stages in the building of a house differ from place to place and among people in the same village. In Matsuda before the house is started, the owner, his friends, and neighbors gather and offer a prayer that the house be a good and a happy one. Before construction, and once each year following completion, rice cakes (mochi in Japanese) and sake are placed in each of the four corners of the house site. Three rice cakes are put on the smallest of three saucers which fit into one another. Two of these saucer sets with the rice cakes, together with a sake bottle and a small cup are placed on a tray. The east, north, west, and south corners are visited in that order. Sake is poured from the flask to a small cup. There is a short prayer. A piece of white paper, attached to a stick of dwarf bamboo (Yanbaru take) about one foot long is burned. The sake is poured over the embers. The top rice cake is placed on the corner; the other two remain on the small plate. Prayers are offered for protection against the deadly snake (habu). The rice cake is then picked up. On the next corner, the ceremony is repeated.

[183] [262] When the ridge pole is put up, the carpenter prays that there will be no injuries. Observances at the raising of the roof (muneage in Okinawan) seem to be universal in the villages. Three parcels, one of salt, one of bean paste, and one of charcoal are wrapped in a leaf--any will do--and these are tied with a string and suspended from the inner side of the crossbeam or from the ridge pole. There are no prayers at This Time.

this time. Upon completing the house, the owner gives a party for those who helped him. During the last day of work, with the party scheduled for the evening, the workmen strive feverishly to complete the house on time. This is a party to celebrate a task completed. Sake flows freely. Occasionally on the last day, a man walks around the house talking to himself and throws salt toward the inside of the house. His words are not formalized and not known to his hearers. After finishing throwing the salt, he bangs the back of the house three times with a stick. This custom is said to be gradually disappearing, and is only occasionally practiced in Matsuda.[9]

In Hanashiro, there is a similar custom that differs in details. On the date the house is started, there is a small ceremony. A plate containing boiled rice, bean curd, a kind of fritter (tenpura in Japanese) and meat, together with a flask of sake are placed in the center of the site on which the house is to be built. Prayers are offered that the house be a good one. The ceremony of raising the roof is identical with that previously described in Matsuda. This applies only to the raising of the ridge pole, no ceremonies taking place with the erecting of the side poles. The center board, near to or nailed to the ridge pole, and from which the articles wrapped in a leaf or in sea weed are suspended, is inscribed with the word, shibiranka. Its meaning is unknown to me. One villager said it was the name of a legendary Chinese protector of houses.

In one instance from Hinatogawa, instead of the salt, charcoal, and bean paste, only a bit of charcoal (tsumi in Japanese) was suspended and wrapped in seaweed (kombu in Japanese).

About 20 years ago in Hanashiro, the celebration on the day of completion was much more elaborate than now. A pig was killed, fish purchased, and a large feast was prepared to which the whole village was invited. The celebration now is confined to relatives, friends, and helpers, including the carpenter, whether hired or a volunteer.

In Hinatogawa, when a good house is being built, there is the custom of going to a fortune teller (sanjinsō in Japanese) to discover the lucky day for commencing construction. This may be repeated to find the lucky day for putting up the poles and supports or putting on the roof. Here also a son about to establish a branch household and to build his own house takes a food offering to his father's house, places it on the Buddhist god shelf, gives thanks, and prays for good fortune before construction starts. When the house has been completed, similar offerings are made, either before the god shelf of the new house, if it has been installed, or again at the father's house. In this village, the usual observances are confined to the raising of the roof and to the celebration following completion of the home.

One last custom observed in all the villages is that one does not move into a new house unless the tide is coming in. Other occasions in which the tide is taken into consideration will be discussed later. The idea here seems to be that one moves at times of growing fullness and increase not at times of ebb and withdrawal.

9 I was unable to secure any explanation of the reason for this and the other practices beyond the familiar statement that "it is a custom." (shukan)

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shopping trip to a larger town. In the very common evening visiting among men, women participate very little. 562

There has been some improvement in the social position of women since the war. In Hanashiro, for example, before the war, the husband, children, and grandparents ate in the second or third room, while the wife and sometimes the eldest daughter ate in the kitchen. (The Okinawan kitchen, though part of the house, differs from the other rooms in that it has direct access to the outside, is generally on a level with the ground, and has a dirt, cement, or stone floor). The wife in preparing the meal can go back and forth readily and need not take off her clogs or wash her feet if she goes barefoot when she goes up into the rooms. Her meal is a slight interlude between duties. 562 264 [342]

In most homes now, the women eat with the family in the main house. Some old women still spend most of their time in the kitchen watching the fire and eating their meals there. One of the reasons given for the change in attitude toward women is that many of the repatriated Okinawans brought newer ideas with them and did not practice segregation at meal times. [178]

Another important fact about social life is the drinking of the men and the abstinence of the women.[3] Young men usually begin drinking sake around the age of marriage. It is exceptional for a young man in his teens or early twenties to drink. But once this dividing line is passed, it is the exceptional man who does not drink. In each village one finds a few lifelong teetotalers. Drinking is always done in company, as the climax of a task completed, because of some happy turn of events, or because there is a party or celebration. As a general rule, the village men do not drink every day, but only when a suitable occasion arises. While there is drunkenness, I did not observe the solitary, prolonged drinking commonly associated with alcoholism in western societies. Prolonged drinking at night has the expected effects the next day, but there is very little remorse, unless a man has done something of which he is subsequently ashamed. Men who have drunk too much the night before do not hesitate to lie in bed 273 [562] [133]

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 295--ANALYST]

3 In Okinawa, the commonest and cheapest alcoholic drink is sake. This is not the same as Japanese sake, the light rice wine, slightly resembling sauterne, that is usually served warm or hot. Okinawan sake is awamori, a much stronger drink of distilled rice spirits, a variety of the Japanese shuchu. The alcoholic content of awamori ranges from about 25% to 30%. It is a raw liquor with an unpleasant taste. It is not the favorite, but it is the cheapest drink. Awamori is made from rice in small distilleries throughout Okinawa, bottled in large jugs and distributed to village shops. Most shops carry it. Sometimes there are special sake shops. Awamori or sake is sold for about Y14 per go (.318 pint). The normal intake for an evening is considered to be 2 go. Most men are fairly inebriated after drinking this much. The American army canteen, when available, is the favorite sake container. Japanese and American beer and Japanese sake are liked, but too expensive. 279 435 804

484 studied remarked on the discomfort of the rustic north. Many
[829] people in Matsuda thought the people of the northern district more honest than those of the south. This attitude is partly due to knowledge of crime in Naha. Direct or personal knowledge of other islands of the Ryukyus is exceptional. Few people know more than travelers' tales about Yaeyama, Miyako, or Amami.

562 Men are better informed about current events than the women.
521 Women do not participate so much in social life, nor do they read so much. Conversations at small gatherings are often on a very serious level. A local antiquarian telling of vanished customs and conditions has a very attentive audience. So has a returned traveler
814 from Japan. These people have a sense of history, curiosity, and respect for knowledge and education.

3

Village Co-operation

621 One of the most important things to learn about a culture is
476 the nature of its co-operative endeavor. It is useful knowledge in understanding the transition zone between individual and family living and participation in community activities. In these communities, co-operation involves considering the relation of families resident in the village to one another, to their community organizations, and to local government. These relations are stronger than the tie of an individual to an extended family. The nature and the limitations of co-operation can best be described by pointing to examples from each of the villages.

In Hanashiro, mutual help is mainly found, as one might expect, among close and distant relatives of the same family of families related by marriage, who are living in the village. There are extended
[C19] family ties, which may involve several villages, but this does not mean that tasks are done co-operatively within the extended family. It is uncommon to go to another village to help a relative with his harvest or his housebuilding--and the distance would increase the unlikelihood. Immediate ties to friends, relatives, and neighbors are stronger than those to the more distant members of the extended family.

Within the village, organized co-operation is not conspicuous. Help is given in the form of labor not in money. There is no accounting on a reciprocity basis. At any harvest time--the rice harvest is usually the most urgent--a relative, neighbor or friend may help one day and receive the same aid on the following day. The whole village does not turn out to help each farmer in turn until the crops are in. This work is done by individuals or by very small groups. Since the nature and the amount of help is known and acknowledged, no bookkeeping
[342] is needed or desired. The closest approach to villagewide help to an individual family occurs in housebuilding. All residents of the

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

village volunteer to help if they have the time; each day a group of 5 or more appear, to be replaced the following day by another group until the house is finished. This type of help is more characteristic of the construction or repair of a simple house with a thatched roof than it is with a more expensive and elaborate house which requires specialists. 621 496 342

No days are specifically set aside for community projects, but these are done through co-operative effort. The amount of time given depends on needs as they arise. The care and maintenance of roads and lanes are the most frequent projects. If a road or lane is needed, the village headman and the council discuss the matter, consult the villagers, and the task is then undertaken. Road and lane maintenance includes cutting weeds and clearing away brush to cut down the danger from snakes. These procedures apply also to the construction and care of community owned buildings, such as the village office and the sugar mill. Hanashiro is small enough so that elaborate plans are not required and the desired ends can be accomplished by casual forms of mutual help. 621 496 [491]

The problems of Hinatogawa are different, but the type of co-operation is essentially the same. Because of its situation, typhoon damage is often severe. Cleaning up and repairing after a typhoon is a co-operative enterprise, since there is so much damage to community property such as roads and breakwaters. In the typhoon "Ruth" in 1951, the wind driven waves lashed the breakwater with such violence that the stones were dislodged and scattered over the main road. Repairing typhoon damage is partly a community, partly a family affair. Many of the frailer houses are blown down and must be reconstructed from their foundations. Help in beaching and lashing down boats in anticipation of a typhoon is given by relatives and friends. Road maintenance and construction, village building, the laying of stones around a community water tank or faucet are tasks accomplished by community effort. House-building is done mostly through the co-operation of friends and relatives. There may be visits to Itoman to help members of the extended family there. The ties with Itoman are close. [731] [614]

Matsuda is a larger village whose scattered settlements and community forests have resulted in a more planned community co-operation than exists in the southern villages. Three general forms can be distinguished: (1) officially supervised co-operative work on the roads and in the forests in which every male over school age and the unmarried girls are expected to work a stated number of days in a year. Records are kept of this work. One might regard this as obligatory, but it is more correct to say that it is a universally acknowledged duty requiring no enforcement procedure. (2) Voluntary co-operation in the building of a house, and (3) less formal and more casual help, among relatives and friends in a wide variety of daily tasks, including harvesting, carrying wood, threshing rice, and the like.

In the officially supervised co-operative work, the participating

621 individuals give one day each year to forest maintenance and planting.
476 Twice during the year one day is given to cleaning up and repairing village roads and paths, to improve village cleanliness, and to reduce the danger from snakes. These clean-up activities, which take place in March, April and November, include cutting the grass and weeds along the roadside, cleaning off accumulated debris, and filling in ruts, holes, and rough spots.

621 The closest approach to village-wide co-operation in private
476 undertakings is in housebuilding. Regardless of the financial standing
342 of the owner, whenever a new house is being built, there are volunteer helpers from the whole village. This is the only area in which this co-operation exists. It does not occur in agriculture or at harvest times. Each day a different crew helps, but this assistance does not
[463] apply to the more specialized tasks. The skilled work on the larger new houses requires carpenters, masons, and tile setters. There is no rigid system of reciprocity nor does a villager keep a record of the days he has worked for the others and the days due him. Many who help already have substantial houses themselves and have no need of reciprocal aid. Following a custom in all the villages, when the
[514] building is finished, the owner gives a housewarming party, with plenty of sake and food. Both hired and volunteer workers are invited.

476 If we may judge by these villages, the Okinawan is individualistic in his approach to his work. Aside from the work on the roads and in the forests, help in emergencies, and the special case of housebuilding, the circle of mutual help is confined within the family or close associates. In no case, did the co-operation of a whole or a substantial part of the village extend to agriculture.

This preceding discussion does not exhaust the field of cooperative endeavor. The co-operative associations and mutual loan groups have already been discussed. Community organizations and neighborhood associations will be considered in Section 5. But these are either more restricted in membership or have a more planned organizational character.

591 In closing this discussion, a further point should be made to avoid misunderstanding. The farmer, fisherman, or stonecutter, the worker in the forest approaches his task as an individual. But group consultation and the sharing of responsibility in other activities is a positive characteristic of the culture. The principle of prior discussion, arriving at a decision acceptable to the group, is a conspicuous part of family life and is implicit in the family system. The same attitude appears in group and community organizations, and in the conduct, as we shall see, of village government.

4

Village Leadership

565
[527] The recent war brought about a levelling in village life. Before

302 for a shave; but since this happens only about once a week or less, they [305] have a stubbly beard much of the time. Men have their hair cut infrequently. From adolescence on they prefer long and unwieldy hair, combed to one side.

Almost no women use lipstick, but a few put on rouge for special occasions. More and more of the younger women use some make-up when they travel to the city, in spite of rather rude teasing from other villagers that they look like prostitutes.

291 During the hot summer most people have straw sun hats which can 293 be bought at the local store after the rainy season. They cost little and last until the end of the heat. Umbrellas are the only rain protection during wet days, since the raincoats and hats formerly made of palm thatch have almost completely disappeared.

DWELLINGS

●342 All but two houses in Taira are postwar structures. The first postwar structures were small and hastily built of local, mostly inferior materials. In the last few years families have built more elaborate houses with several rooms, substantial walls and roofs, and made of quality Japanese hard woods, which will resist rapid deterioration. Only a few of the present houses, however, compare in size and workmanship with the large prewar farmhouses.

[362] On the whole, housing in central Taira is inferior to outlying parts of the community and other surrounding villages. Two house types are found: the simple, temporary house or hut with two or three rooms and a kitchen, covered by a thatch roof; and the larger, more substantial house with either thatch or tile roof, four to six rooms and a kitchen.

[251] All houses have common characteristics. They are elevated from the ground so that a 20 to 24 inch space is left underneath the floor, which is sometimes used for the storage of potatoes and firewood. The floor plan is uniform for all houses of either type (Figure 1). Living rooms, also used for sleeping, are always located in the front part of the house. A smaller room located at the right rear of the house is used as a bedroom or for sick people and parturient mothers. The kitchen is on level ground so that a step has to be taken to enter the eating corner from the kitchen. Even the simplest huts have a thin wall which separates the rear bedroom and kitchen from the front part. All outside doors are sliding panels which move in a wooden track so that the whole front of the house may be opened. A visitor can tell immediately if somebody is home and, if an informal caller, will sit on the elevated

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

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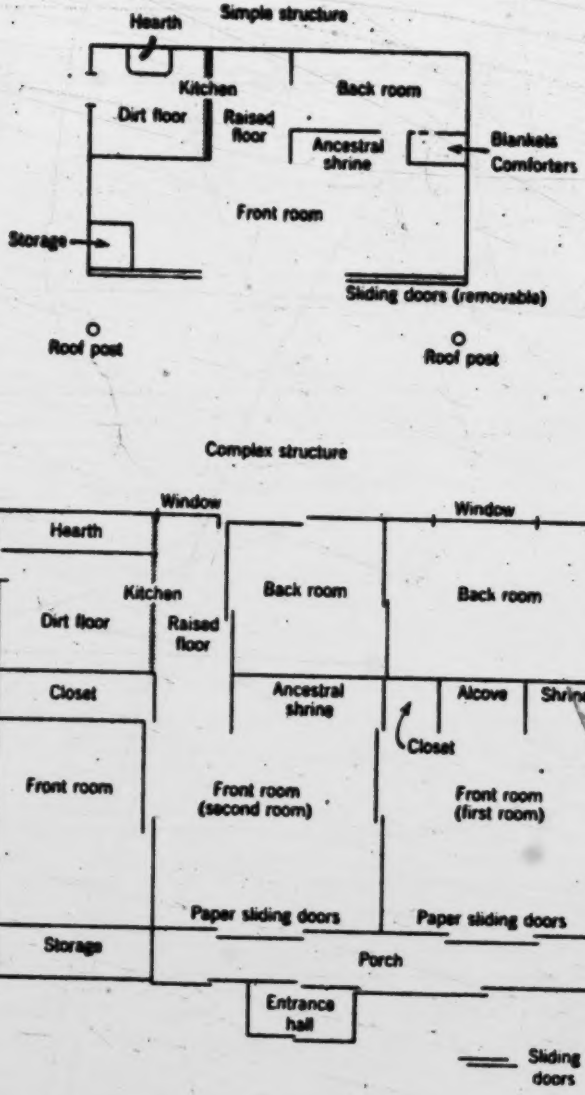

Figure 1. House plan showing simple and complex structures.

342 floor, resting his feet outside on the ground. An overhanging roof protects him from the rain. Larger houses have an entrance hall and a porch running along the front. Since these porches also have sliding door panels, few people bother to use the entrance except on formal visits.

[335] The simple structures have a framework which is basically the same as that of the more complex ones. Neither is constructed with nails but held together by mortise and tenon joints. Thick layers of thatch or a tile roof give adequate protection from rains. Thatch roofs need re-
[356] placement every few years, but they keep the house cooler than the more permanent, more expensive clay or cement tile roofs. House walls are made of very thin, cheap wood which weathers fast and cracks, allowing winds to enter freely. Only the new houses have solid double walls. The floor in the simple buildings consists of planks which in many houses are not nailed down; during the winter months the cold penetrates through the wide slots between the boards. Better houses have ceilings and doors to separate the "first" and "second" room in the front of the house, as well as solid floors.

[151] Smoke from the open fireplace in the kitchen rises into the roof and seeps through the thatch. Poor eyesight, common among children, is believed by the villagers to result from smoke-filled houses and poor lighting. In the evening, dim light is provided by one or two kerosene lamps.

342 353 769 The ancestral shrine, a built-in shelf for the ancestral tablets, has its place in the "second" room. This shrine is only found in the homes of oldest sons. It is not treated with special reverence. Photographs of the deceased as well as of living relatives are kept there as well as per-
[827] sonal belongings—a letter, money, a bottle of sake, or gifts. During religious holidays of ancestral worship, red hibiscus flowers, the color for the dead, are placed on the shelf. Since the shelf is high from the floor, small children cannot get at it.

352 [516] The only furniture in all houses is a low table on which food and drinks are served. Everybody sits on the floor, legs crossed and feet tucked under their thighs in the case of men or put behind to one side in the case of women. Very few houses in Taira have the thick, padded straw mats found in the homes of more well-to-do people in Okinawa. But every family has several thin mats of woven reed standing in one corner of the room; these are spread out for guests to sit on or for a member of the household who lies down during the day. Storage
353 shelves are used in simple houses, but in the better houses mattresses, comforters, and hard pillows are kept in a built-in closet space during
[356] the day. On sunny days women air the bedding by spreading it over walls, fences, or in the grass.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

There are no uniform sleeping arrangements. The larger the family, the more corners of the front rooms and rear room are occupied. Since the number of comforters is limited in most families, two or three members of the family share one. Father and mother do not always sleep together, and, even if they do, an infant may sleep between them. When there are several children, another child may sleep next to the father, so that in one row there may be mother, a baby, father, and an older child. One or two children usually sleep with the grandmother in another corner. In several families an older sister may sleep with younger brothers; in others, two elder brothers, or an older sister and an older brother, may sleep next to each other. Children do not usually sleep at other people's houses, but when they reach junior high school age, a girl may stay with a girl friend or a group of boys may sleep together at one house.

A simple desk and chair are kept in each house where children go to school. These are put in one corner of the front room, except in large houses with a third room in front, which is reserved for schoolchildren of the house, who also sleep there. Around the study corner, books are kept on a crate or shelf. Only the biggest houses have a niche in their "first" room. Paintings and scrolls, used to decorate alcoves before the war, have been lost, and few people have acquired replacements. Many families decorate rooms by pasting pictures from magazines and newspapers on the walls. Some have reproductions of the Japanese Crown Prince Akihito, others scenic pictures from Japan.

Only a few recent buildings have inner sliding doors with paper screens. The paper is often left off during the hot season and put on before New Year. If children or cats are around, the splendor does not last long, and even an adult's hand frequently punctures the screen in trying to open the door. Holes are left unrepaired for the remainder of the year.

The eating corner between kitchen and rear room is the place where most families gather in the evening, especially during the winter. An informal caller may join them there. If it is cold, a brazier is put in the center, filled with pieces of charcoal on top of old ashes to provide heat for those sitting around it. These braziers vary in type: the poorest families use the bottom of an oil drum filled with ashes; others use pottery jars or small wooden boxes lined with metal.

Crockery used in most houses is of a simple type. If breakage occurs, as it often does, a cup or bowl can be replaced for a few yen at the grocery store. Well-to-do families may have an extra set of teacups, which are used for guests. Several families also own lacquer ware, but it is not in daily use. Like cups and bowls, chopsticks are simple and inexpensive. They last a long time and are seldom lost. Children do

313 which they use interchangeably. After sufficient trees have been cut and
[412] cleared of branches, a large bundle of firewood is carried to the village. Most forest workers make four or five trips a day into the hills—two or three during the hot summer season. As the afternoon ends, they sit down along the road in the village or nearby to prepare firewood
474 bundles. Pieces of wood are inserted through a bamboo loop of stand-
313 ard size, prescribed by the cooperative store, until a tight, uniform bundle is obtained. The last piece has to be driven into the bundle by force. All over the village one can hear the knocking of wood pieces
[592] which marks the end of a forest worker's daily labor. Each household works independently and sells firewood to the cooperative. A store
[436] clerk travels around the village in late afternoon, checks all bundles, and issues credit slips to each household; these can be changed into money at the store. The following morning the truck, owned by the
[438] cooperative, carries the firewood to Naha or Itoman where it is sold to a dealer who redistributes it to individual consumers or public bathhouses. The northern part of the island has always supplied firewood to the population of southern Okinawa to be used for kitchen hearths
[354] and bath stoves. In recent years kerosene kitchen stoves have become so popular that the depletion of wood resources tends to coincide with decreasing demand.

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS

463 Other ways of making a living exist. A few artisans in Taira derive part of their income from wage labor. A number of Taira men earn their living by carpentering, although they do most of their work in the south. They return occasionally when their services are needed for
[465] local house building. When working on local construction, they are paid in money, free lodging, and meals. There are also a few part-time resident carpenters who, whenever they are not employed in house building or repairs, spend their time farming and cutting wood. New
[342] buildings are usually put up between the beginning of the second rice crop and the New Year.

463 Several persons are salaried township or village officials. They are
466 paid monthly and work a 44-hour week, not counting many extra meetings and duties connected with their work. All office workers however
[647] have fields, either their own or those of their parents, where they spend Sundays helping in agricultural pursuits. During rice planting season, they are given special time off to attend to their fields.

Also among the salaried workers are store employees, a full-time

462 heavy sods in the rice paddy; nevertheless, women and younger girls
[241] often do this work along with the men and boys if time runs short. There are some women who prepare their farm land without the help of their husbands.

[313] In mountain work, women produce almost as much as men except
[843] that they do not handle the large logs. Even pregnant women make three or four daily mountain trips, sometimes up until the day of
[482] childbirth. Only the mode of carrying wood, like any load, differs for the sexes: a man uses a carrying stick supported on his shoulder, with two bundles attached to each end; a woman carries bundles on her back, tied and held in place by a tump line tied over her forehead. Women can carry loads of 100 to 120 pounds in this manner.

[312] Men seldom carry water from the tank or faucet to the house; this is considered women's work, although younger boys are expected to
241 help at times. Work in the potato fields is mainly women's respon-
462 sibility. Their hands are also preferred in rice transplanting, where dexterity is needed in pulling out the tender shoots from the seed bed and replanting them in straight rows at measured intervals. Occasionally a young man helps, and boys sometimes try to work along with their sisters when they learn transplanting. Both men and women sow
462 the seed beds. In special activities, such as house building, a more dis-
[342] tinct division of labor can be observed. In any building activity, men do the structural work and women carry materials and cook for the
[653] men. The same division of labor is found on community projects, road building, fencing against wild pigs, or repairing the water pipes. In general, however, no special comment is made if either a man or woman performs work usually done by the opposite sex.

887 Men and women work in the fields and forests from ages 15 to 60.
462 When they approach 60, men like to "retire." If possible, they turn over their responsibilities as household heads to their eldest sons. From
[464] then on, they tend to stay home more and more. They can still help with less demanding work, making bamboo rings for firewood bundles, sawing wood, or doing odd jobs around the house. Approaching old age, most men become economically useless and in other ways contribute little to society. For old women, quite the contrary is true. Even grandmothers who are well over 60 seem strong and active. Most of
[241] them go to the fields to plant or harvest potatoes or other vegetables. One woman, well into her sixties and bent over from arthritis, took long walks to distant potato fields, with a heavy load of slips or potatoes in a basket on her back, a hoe on top of it, supporting herself on a
[855] stick. Other grandmothers look after the youngest children, thus freeing the mother for work. Old women also cook, help bundle firewood,

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

like "owners" of the concrete objects which they inhabit. These objects can be made subservient to human needs if care is taken not to offend the deities. As long as proper ritual observances are performed, humans need not fear their hostility. They are addressed in prayers and chants, and people make offerings to them at several ceremonies during the year. No one in Taira, including the priestess, has any exact knowledge about their characteristics, and there is no theological dogma, but people know that when building a house, for example, one must announce his intention to the deities and pacify these spirits who have been carried with the lumber from the mountains or with gravel from the beach and the sea. They must be thanked for letting the builder use such materials and sent back to their natural abode. Before the house is finished, the surrounding plot of land must be cleared of all evil spirits. Neglect of such ceremonies can turn supernatural beings into adversaries. One family who neglected proper rituals on their house lot when they built their home tried to appease angry deities by holding a ceremony a year after the house was finished because bad luck had befallen members of the household. Although most supernatural beings can be pacified by proper observance of rituals, there are some who are inherently malevolent. These ogres may be seen in the form of fire balls or in some other shape or physical appearance.

The worship of these nature deities and the observance of ceremonies in their behalf are in the hands of the high priestess and her female assistants. In former times each main house, later each village, had its own priestess. The present high priestess in Taira derives her office from a much later institution, a nation-wide hierarchy of religious officials established by the Okinawan king in an effort to combine religion with political influence and supervision in the villages. Today the high priestess has no association with the central government; the Japanese abolished the system. The hierarchy of female religious officials (see Lebra: 1958), those representing main houses, and the chief village priestess is no longer clearly delineated in Taira, since representatives of several offices have left the island or died, and the vacancies have not been filled. The high priestess has taken over most of the religious functions. Her chief assistants are older women from the two main houses. While these three women officiate, several other women are in attendance as helpers. In spite of the diminishing role of animistic religion in the daily life of younger people, the high priestess still enjoys prestige in the community. She is exempted from communal labor in recognition of her status.

The present high priestess is a woman in her fifties who works and

lives like other villagers, spending most of her time in the fields and around her home. She has children and grandchildren, but the father of her children no longer lives in Taira. She regards the continuation of the old ceremonies as her holy duty even though she has to do without most of the accustomed material support from the village and in spite of disbelief and lack of participation. She has sought in vain to have the village make necessary repairs on the simple village shrine near the township office and on the little hut where the ancestral tablets of her predecessors are kept.

While many of the former ceremonies have been discontinued, the priestess is still called on to officiate at house-building ceremonies, to purify the lot, to offer prayers when the beams are raised, and to conduct the dedication when the house is finished. If the owner is moving out of an old house, the priestess notifies the fire deity so that he will follow to the new abode. On other occasions the priestess conducts prayers at the village shrine or at one of the other sacred places near the village. Many of the prayers are succorant—requesting the aid and blessing of the gods in accomplishing a certain goal. In general, as Lebra has pointed out (1958), ceremonies of asking for help are more numerous and elaborate than thanksgiving ones.

On New Year's morning the priestess prays at the water well. Since so many ceremonies have been abbreviated and are no longer carried out in traditional detail, the priestess apologizes for short cuts in her prayers. If she fails to offer prayers in all prescribed spots, she pacifies the deities by facing in the direction of the sacred place where the ceremony should have been conducted. Although the priestess is clearly best qualified to enter into communication with the deities, many older women seem to possess such power also, and if the priestess' assistants are not present, another older woman can function as her helper.

For these ceremonies food for offerings is contributed by the village. The priestess, in a white gown, kneels, flanked by her assistants, also in white, in front of a tray of sake, rice, or other food for the deities. Charcoal incense sticks are burned while brief prayers asking the deities for a successful crop, thanking them for a harvest, or whatever is appropriate to the occasion are mumbled. On certain occasions the women sing chants. After these ceremonies, the priestess, her assistants and the few others present, usually old women, share the food offerings.

One of the most dramatic ceremonies is held on Boat Race Day in lunar June. Priestesses from several villages gather near Taira. During the ceremony the Taira priestess stands in the middle of a circle formed by the other priestesses and helpers, beating a drum as the

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

ple did not carry it through the streets but along the shore to a spot nearby where the car could pull up.

Communication with ancestral or family spirits lies in the hands of individual households or the larger kin group. In general, as with the nature deities, women maintain the relationship. The oldest woman in the house prays and makes offerings in front of the divine shelf or by the tombs. Sometimes the high priestess, whose only regular role in the cult of ancestors centers around the mythical founder of the village to whom vague references are made, is asked to conduct a special prayer for a family at its ancestral shrine. Such invitations are usually the result of consultation with another religious practitioner to whom one turns in case of misfortune.*

Those who are considering a special undertaking, such as building a new house or moving to another one, or transporting ancestral tablets from one home shrine to another, seek the advice of a diviner, the *sanjinsō* or *yekisha*. This expert, always a man, consults books on the workings of the universe, special astrological calendars from which he can predict events by using a horoscope calculated on the birth date of the person seeking advice.

Although it would seem from the attendance at ceremonies that older people, mostly women, are the supporters of religion, even the most modern of the Tairans seem to share beliefs in the power of the supernatural forces and are loath to make an open break with traditions. One may verbalize that the old religion is just "superstition," but when it comes to dealing with adverse events, when somebody suggests that perhaps the *yuta* should be consulted, or a special offering is in order, or when the old special wine of the gods is prepared from rice for Boat Race Day, then many of the apparent apostates cooperate. To some extent this is done to appease the older people, but fear of neglecting duties, especially toward ancestors, is probably much stronger in general than people's behavior would suggest. Religious influence, then, which controlled so many facets of village life in former days, still acts as a strong force in uniting the members of families and descent groups as well as in binding together the community as a unit separate from other communities.

* See Chapter 9 for description of the *yuta* or shaman.

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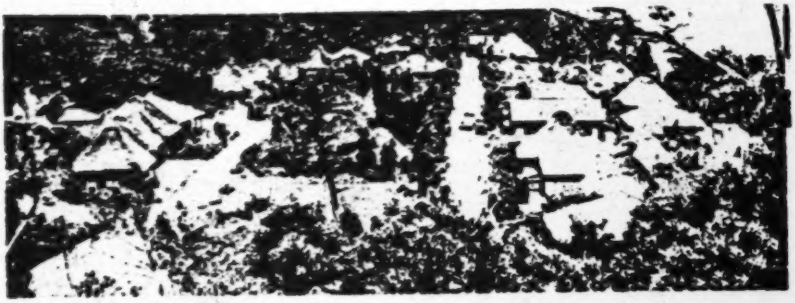

View of central village, Taira.

351
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House and yard.

Preparing rice paddy.

Cultivating rice.

243
291

[p. 456-A]

It apparently did not find
178 widespread use in Tomoyose, for that village passed almost directly from the use
243 of bamboo tongs to the rotary thresher, or 'dakkokki' (see photo). Yamada first
412 saw this thresher about 1933, but Nanahan farmers began using it only in 1941.
[407]

178 Hulling of grain was in the past accomplished---as needed for home use
252 or sale---by using a wooden rotary mill (see photos) called fichiūshi in Yamada and shiriūshi in Nanahan. In Yamada two women sat with their feet braced against it, and pulled straw ropes alternately. In Nanahan men did the hulling, and the rotary mill was lower but was three feet in diameter. In the late thirties motor-powered hulling mills were built in many areas, and farmers took their rice there for hulling and polishing.

Polishing of brown rice in Nanahan was accomplished until about 1935 by use of a mortar, or chichiūshi (see photo), and pestle, or ajin. Most families still have these in reserve, as they were used after the war and were replaced by rice mills only after 1949. People in remote areas still use them exclusively. Nowadays people have their rice hulled and polished in one operation at a rice mill, if it is close at hand.

178 Very little wheat was grown in the three farm villages studied, but
246 it was noticed that on the outer isles wheat was more dominant. On Henza isle, removal of the grain from the sheaf and hull was accomplished by rubbing it upon a piece of bumpy limestone. On Kudaka, separation was by rubbing on a canvas, both with the hands and feet.

178 After the war farmers took advantage of the spread of the lantana bush,
241 which had flourished due to the neglect of the land. It furnished an excellent livestock feed, and also a short pole which they could use in roofing their re-built houses. Such poles, or kichigwā, had formerly been brought down from the forested north country.

178 Chronology of Change in Livestock Recovery of the land after the war pro-
727 ceeded far more rapidly than replacement
231 of the livestock killed or eaten in the invasion. The following table illustrates the loss and slow recovery (except for swine) in livestock numbers:

Table V

Type of Livestock	1940[1]	1946[2]	1952[3]	1952 as % of 1940
Cattle	22,000	112	6,837	31.0%
Horses	25,000	899	5,110	20.4%
Swine	108,426	1,165	107,077	98.8%
Goats	106,257	1,647	58,472	55.1%

In Kachinda-son the story has been somewhat the same, with the exception that there are many more swine and cattle now than in the thirties. This is due partly to the lesser amount of land in sugar and the planting of more

1, 2 Summation....July-November, 1946, p. 26.

3 Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1943, p. 1. Valid as of 31 Dec. 1952.

CHAPTER V: FAMILY LIFE

W. P. Suttles

1. Kinship Organization

342 [183] [361] **The Household and the Family** Okinawan homes, both in the country and in the towns, show a surprising uniformity in structure, in floor plan, and even in orientation. This uniformity reflects the stability of society and at the same time reenforces it. The home of the Okinawan farmer usually faces south; indeed the older villages as a whole were established on southward-facing slopes.

The house consists of two main rooms separated by sliding doors, a long and narrow back room behind the two front rooms, and a kitchen to one side, usually the west. The measurements are usually in multiples of three feet (the Japanese foot being almost identical with the English foot); the two main rooms are usually the same size, 9 by 9 or 12 by 12 feet, and the others are somewhat smaller. The roofs of most houses are thatched with "kaya", but people who can afford it have wholly or partly tiled roofs. The roof of the kitchen may have a separate peak and ridgepole from that of the main part of the house. Usually the roof of the main part of the house extends beyond the front rooms so that there is a narrow veranda across the front and halfway around the side opposite the kitchen. The house usually has no windows. The kitchen has an outside door and the front rooms have sliding doors all the way around under the veranda; these are usually open except at night or during bad weather.

The main part of the house has a floor of boards but the kitchen often has only an earth floor or else consists of two sections, one floored and one not. The kitchen is thus usually lower than the main part of the house and is referred to as "below" while the main part is "above", but this also implies a difference in status. The room farthest from the kitchen is called the "first room" and the middle room is the "second room". The back room may be a single long room or may be divided into two. At the back of the kitchen is the oven, usually made of earth or bricks with two or three holes for pots and pans to fit into. At the back of the second room, if the house is a "main house"---that of an eldest son, is the tootoomee (J. 'butsudan'), a cabinet for the ancestral tablets. At the back of the first room there is often an alcove containing a scroll and perhaps a family treasure; this is the u-tuku (J. 'tokonoma').

353 [354]

In the homes of more prosperous families the floors of the front rooms are permanently covered with "tatami", the thick mats used by the Japanese, but in most homes the only mats are the thinner mushiru, which are spread out only when needed. Furniture is simple; the mushiru are the equivalent of chairs and beds; a low table may be brought out to put food upon at meal-time and a pot of burning charcoal may be brought out in cold weather for a little heat. Usually one sees only a basket of teacups and a tobacco-box. On formal occasions the men sit in the first room and the women in the second, but usually the partition is removed and the family simply lives in the whole space.

352 [354] 592 562

[Kitazato]

is paying adequate rentals for lands used in Japan, and it is their contention that Okinawa is being discriminated against because she is weak. Because of this some wish that Japan were back in control, believing that their interests would be better served. One hears no comments on the presence of Americans in the islands or on the legality of building bases there, for they concede that the outcome of the war granted that; yet, they are bitter about the loss of their livelihood and what they feel to be neglect on the part of the military government. Long accustomed to a paternalistic government which directed many aspects of their lives, they are now at a loss to understand this seeming indifference to their present circumstances. They are completely unmoved by argument, which might seem logical to an American, that Congress has not appropriated sufficient funds, for they do not distinguish between the various divisions of American government---it is all American to them. They point to the high standard of living enjoyed by the American personnel and their families stationed on the island and make the inference that there seems to be no lack of funds for their needs. 621 829 727

The villagers say that they have received three payments from military government through May, 1954. The first of these paid for the cost of removing and rebuilding their homes. This amounted to a flat payment of ¥6000 ($50) per house, which they say was inadequate. The first of the land payments was made in June of 1953; the villagers assert that they were paid at pre-war rates, and one person who owned 5480 'tsubo' described the payment as a "laugh". The second payment for the use of their lands was made in May, 1954, while the author was studying the village. This time the payments were said to be substantially higher especially in certain categories; yet, they contend that payments are still far below current rentals. In this payment, ¥5.40 per 'tsubo' per year was paid for grade one house lots, but in Kijikina the owner of one house claimed that he paid ¥24 per 'tsubo' per year for rental on his house lot. Grade one dry fields were paid for by the military government at a rate of ¥3 per 'tsubo' per year; the farmers say that they can get about ¥60 per 'tsubo' in annual yield if this land is planted in beans or potatoes, and local rentals on this same type of land are about ¥15. They are angry at receiving but ¥3 for their land and having to pay ¥15 to rent equivalent land. They are also dissatisfied with the manner of payment for grass land and tomb land which are paid for by the plot regardless of size; thus, they say that the person who has two small plots of 10 'tsubo' each receives twice as much as the man who owns a single, larger 100 'tsubo' plot.

Effect of the Land Loss on the Village: Physical Appearance On first entering any one of the three segments of Kitazato one is struck almost immediately by a level of poverty considerably below that of other Okinawan villages. This is particularly true of Hama, whose houses are jammed tightly together on a treeless beach. Most of the houses consist of a single room which serves as living and sleeping quarters; a small lean-to kitchen is attached on the side. The floor space of the houses was considerably smaller than those of Kanegusuku. Several brackish wells supply the community with water. The Anahana and Kijikina settlements in the hills have a more attractive appearance due to a large number of young pine trees and a small stream in the area, giving a park-like atmosphere; however, 621 735 511 [342] [312] [342]

511 [Kitazato]

621 the houses are the same small, poorly-built structures of thatch and scrap
735 lumber that are found on the beach. By way of contrast, the house which
[342] the author rented in Kanegusuku was the poorest and shabbiest in that vil-
[184] lage; yet, the same house in Kitazato would easily have been the best.
Shabby appearances are not limited to houses, for the people too are more
poorly dressed than elsewhere on Okinawa.

621 Food Nearly everywhere on Okinawa the authors heard that the peo-
511 ple are eating better today than before the war; such is not the case for
262 Kitazato, and the villagers are most emphatic about this. Potatoes, beans,
and other vegetable products form the mainstay of their diet; often times,
they say, potatoes are dug up before they are fully mature, so great is the
pressure for food. It is the opinion of the local agricultural office that
the people are slowly starving to death, and the villagers state that they
are always hungry. The local storekeepers say that the people do not have
enough money to buy canned foods to supplement their diet. Though Hama is
[226] virtually on the water the villagers do no fishing since the occupation is
regarded as a foreign one; however, some shell fish are collected by the
women.

621 Exodus of Youth One of the marked features of the village is the
511 general absence of young men and women in the fifteen to twenty-five age
166 group, for as soon as the student completes junior high school, he or she
heads for the city seeking employment. A number of the families in the vil-
lage are said to subsist mainly on the money which their children send back.
According to the mayor 61 families have left the village since the end of
the war; he feels that if they had not left, things would be much worse.
Most of those who left were families containing grown children who could
work; the parents in some cases were reluctant to leave, but their children
were anxious to leave. A slight decline in military employment in early
1954 resulted in several of these families' returning to the village, and
the mayor was apprehensive lest more return.

621 One characteristic of the population of this village which struck
847 the author was the disproportionate number of females to males in the age
group under five years. In this group there were 54 males and 33 females,
whereas the groups above were more nearly proportionate. Female infanti-
cide has been a common occurrence during times of famine or under conditions
of extreme poverty in Japan and China, and the authors heard several stories
giving some evidence of it on Okinawa. No factual evidence of any sort was
gathered by the author in Kitazato to corroborate this interpretation of
the statistics; however, the fact that the permanent resettlement of the
village in its present locations took place approximately six years ago in
1948 may lend some credence to this interpretation.

621 Attitude toward Americans The villagers' initial reaction to the
829 presence of the author in the village was one of fear and veiled hostility.
[123] Gradually this was overcome, and good rapport was established. During one
of his last visits to the community the author was told, "The first day you
were in the village everyone wondered if the military were going to make us
move again. No one slept that night." At the same time the villagers are

Elongated roadside settlements seem to be an increasing phenomena of post-war Okinawa. In central Okinawa (Nakagami) this is particularly apparent in the areas of military camps, where the commercial value of being on the road is fully exploited. Numerous car-washing establishments, repair shops, laundries, souvenir shops, etc., line the roadsides in these settlements. With current expansion and improvement of the highway system there seems increasing likelihood that more settlements of this type will develop. 178 341 [443]

Houses and Buildings Architectural styles and the materials of construction appear to have changed but slightly as a result of the war. There are now thousands of small temporary huts made of scrap materials which will suffice until the individual family can afford a more permanent structure. When new houses are built, the styles are closely similar to those of the prewar period. The major change in the style of country houses appears to have occurred during the Japanese period of administration, for early travelers and investigators report that the typical farmer's dwelling consisted of woven bamboo walls, thatch roof, and dirt floor. These are but rarely found today, and where they do occur, there is always a raised floor as in the case of the Japanese home. In certain areas, such as Kitazato for example, there has been a reversion to this house of woven bamboo and thatch due to poverty, a lack of wood, and the readily available bamboo. The prewar house of wooden walls and frame with a tile roof still remains the most common house type and that which is most frequently built. 178 342 • [171]

The use of concrete blocks in building is attributed to American influence; however, their usage to date has been limited mostly to non-residential buildings. Roofing of corrugated iron is sometimes used, but it is regarded as a temporary device. [177]

Interiors have changed but little; rooms are usually relatively bare of furnishings. Frequently the walls are covered with pictures taken from Japanese and American magazines. 177 178 353

The enclosed yard surrounding the Okinawan house often contains considerable evidence of the war. Oil drums have been put to use as rain barrels and privies; American helmets are frequently found serving as pails or buckets; old shell cases are used for support and occasionally, if a sufficient number are available, for decorative fencing; sections of portable landing-strips serve as sidewalks; and on one occasion a Japanese machine-gun was observed in use as a clothes pole. 177 351

Crafts There has been a marked decline in Okinawan handicrafts and a greater reliance placed on factory-made products. The manufacture of cloth, baskets, rope, hats, pottery, raincapes, mats, sandals, etc. has dropped markedly in comparison to the prewar era; yet, it is acknowledged that the war only served to accelerate the decline. Several factors are involved in this process. In many cases the Japanese factory products are cheaper and better than the local article. The cultural domination of Japan also created an attitude that things Ryukyuan were inferior to things Japanese; hence, Japanese products and styles assumed an ascendancy over those of Ryukyuan origin. Lastly, the war destroyed many of the places of manufacture and the machinery employed, and replacement has never been made. 177 178 433 28 [329] [727]